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AUTHOR Silver, Sheila J.
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ABSTRACT

A content analysis of women's roles in "McCalls Magazine" in 1964 and 1974 revealed two profiles of a publication that has been dispensing advice and entertainment for wives and mothers since 1876. The recent women's movement first attracted media coverage around 1968, and a study of "McCalls" before and after this time showed significant changes. Today's "McCalls" has extrapolated from "women's lib" those ideas it feels are useful to a reader of a magazine for suburban women without betraying a loyal readership that was nurtured on more traditional fare. The content analysis indicated significant decreases from 1964 to 1974 in the number of items that appealed to parenthood or to homemaking, encouraged the embellishment of the home, and appealed to fashion or promoted a youthful appearance as a goal. There were significant increases in items that showed parents sharing responsibility for their children, addressed emotional problems and maladjustments, promoted leisure, and appealed to interests outside the home. (MKM)

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THEN AND NOW: WOMEN'S ROLES IN McCALL'S MAGAZINE, 1964 AND 1974

Sheila J. Silver
College of Journalism
University of Maryland

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If women are happy (as most of them have long been assumed to be) in kitchen and playroom, it may well be because they don't yet know the larger dimensions within and outside of themselves. The cage is not the plantation fence or the suburban wall, but the image drawn of some by the minds of others...When the image is shattered, society suffers the dislocation natural to evolution and growth. The status quo is dearest to those who benefit by it.

--Marya Mannes
But Will It Sell?

When the late President Lyndon B. Johnson chartered his "Great Society" program in the mid-Sixties, he singled out women as well as blacks and the poor, as a minortiy whose situation was so critical that it required an immediate boost from the government. Pressure to upgrade the position of women as citizens has given birth to laws against sex discrimination, affirmative action programs and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. Feminist organizations offer alternative agendas for women seeking to free themselves from the housewife/homemaker vocation and for working women who want to make the career leap from being an assistant to decisionmaker.

However, assimilating a new "consciousness" about womanhood has not come about without polarization of men and women, and even of women and women.

The mass media serve as barometers of social mores and attitudes. The rise and fall of social movements can be monitored through them. A logical point of interest to an observer of societal development is the treatment specialized media devote to events affecting their audiences. The range of reactions to "women's liberation" by the media and by women themselves has complicated assessment of the women's movement, and has presented an unmistakable challenge to publishers of women's magazines.

A question that merits consideration is: Has an established leader among women's magazines -- McCall's -- kept pace with the more modern ideas of womanhood, and advocated a significantly broader self-concept for women than was popular 12 years ago, at the outset of large-scale activism on behalf of women and minorities?

Women's magazines comprise a thoroughly entrenched segment of Americana. They traditionally have depicted women in terms of a man or

a home or a family, laced with a substantial amount of romantic fiction and poetry. Daytime television serials have followed a similar formula, and both media have been blessed with faithful audiences. They obviously responded to some women's interests to enjoy such stability, feminist rhetoric notwithstanding. But have they provided their audiences with an up-to-date portrayal of expanded lifestyles for women?

The impressive amount of research supporting the concept of the agenda-setting function of the media has raised the media's treatment of women to a level of critical importance. Although various enviornmental and psychological factors mediate the effect of media output on audiences, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw write that "The concepts of status-conferral, stereotyping and image-making all deal with the salience of objects or attributes. And reserch on all three have linked these manipulations of salience to the mass media."[1] Results of small-scale studies conducted by these authors between the 1968 and 1972 Presidential elections indicate that "In general, the greater the amount of media exposure, the stronger the correlation between media and audience agendas,"[2] even though rank-ordering of media and audience agendas is not identical.[3]

Robin Williams, in discussing the difficulty of pinpointing indicators of American values, argues that the media are integral to understanding value systems. Margaret Zube cites Williams' observation in her study of the Ladies Home Journal:

> A most fruitful source of attitudes and value orientations is to be found in the output of the mass media. He (Williams) suggests that content analysis can provide a reliably objective measurable method for the analysis of values, and he cites a number of studies which have successfully used this approach.[4]

Wilbur Schramm has pointed out that "Gatekeepers, by saying yes or no to messages that come to them along the chain, play one of the most important roles in social communication."[5] It is interesting to note that the head "gatekeeper" at McCall's, the managing editor, was a male during both of the sample years of this study.

In "Newspapers and the New Feminists: Blackout as Social Control?", Monica B. Morris observes that "An effective method to control the conflict generated by a social movement like women's liberation...is to withhold information about the movement from the general public, so minimizing its impact."[6]

Morris cites another author's argument to support her assertion that the mass media not only mirror society but, to a certain extent, manipulate it as well:

> Seeing the maintenance of order as the key problem facing society, Warren Breed asserts that the media maintain socio-cultural consensus not only by stressing proper behavior but also by omitting items which, if not blocked, might reveal conflicts that remain nondisabling only as long as they are kept from overt crystallization.
>
> Breed sees the media not only as protecting particular pressure groups but also as protecting the community from particular groups with disruptive intentions. In Breed's view, newspapers and other media perform a valuable service in withholding information of a highly controversial nature...If conflicts remain hidden, they cannot be disruptive. Keeping the public in ignorance is a means of social control.[7]

McCall's was selected for study because it is a middle-of-the-road magazine, read by a class and age group of women who might be reluctant to welcome radical new ideas about women. Therefore, it would not be surprising if McCall's continued to preserve old traditions in its content to avoid alienating its readership.

However, there is evidence that much of the female consciousness-raising has germinated and diffused in the ranks of middle-class women,

something which could be expected to cause a shifting of gears at McCall's. These two conflicting possibilities suggested an anomaly that invited investigation.

It seemed useful to approach a study of McCall's by looking at it in terms of the other magazines competing for the female market:

1) Romance/Personality: Photoplay, True Confessions

2) Home: House Beautiful, Better Homes and Gardens

3) Family-Oriented: Woman's Day, Family Circle, Good Housekeeping

4) Style: Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Modern Bride

5) General Interest: McCall's, Ladies Home Journal, Redbook

6) Young Modern: Glamour, Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan

7) Vanguard: Ms., Playgirl, Viva

This is not an all-inclusive list of women's magazines. It does include the leaders and those the average consumer can expect to find on any newsstand. By classifying these periodicals according to appeal, one can observe the scope of female orientations served by the media. A number of these magazines deal in entertainment features, beauty, and/or "how-to" features which discuss improvement of the home. Others glorify fantasy and promote vicarious adventure through articles on movie stars, jet-setters, or fiction characters. The list illustrates the rather narrow appeal of some of the periodicals, which is why they were not chosen for thes analysis.

Magazines in categories 1, 2 and 3 concentrate on items that are "useful" or entertaining for the reader but usually are not addressed to the reader's own sense of self. Those in category 4 cover a

socioeconomic elite, travel and the world of haute couture. Categories 6 and 7 also are periodicals with specialized offerings. Only McCall's and Ladies Home Journal (category 5) are broad enough in scope, containing some features of most of the others, to be suitable for an analysis that deals with a broad range of ideas about women. (The decision to work with McCall's instead of the Journal was arbitrary, although influenced somewhat by the fact that the Journal has been similarly analyzed by Margaret Zube and Sally B. Wilson,[8] whose work is cited elsewhere in the paper.)

To test McCall's on its endorsement of changing roles for women, an analysis of editorial and advertising copy and art in McCall's in 1964 and 1974 was designed. This time span was chosen because, just prior to its midpoint (1969), the women's movement began to attract publicity and press coverage, thereby allowing comparisons to be drawn between the early, pre-movement issues and those that could conceivably reflect the influences of the movement.

Given that magazines must observe reader orientations and philosophical continuity to maintain readership and attract advertising, these hypotheses were developed:

1) McCall's has kept pace with changing ideas of womanhood amplified in the late sixties but has avoided endorsing or has taken a position against the more militant ideas advocated by feminists.

2) McCall's, in ads and editorial copy, has promoted the traditional roles of the American woman while encouraging greater self-expression within these roles.

As Schramm has said, the gatekeeper's perceptions and his subsequent decisions based on those perceptions form the most pivotal

part of social communication. As a "mirror/manipulator" of middle-class readers, how has McCall's assimilated "women's lib" into its pages?

This study focused on McCall's handling of "changing womanhood:" wives and mothers at work, mother/father partnership in the care of children and in the operation of the home, women engaged in projects related as much or more to self than to family or home, career versatility and advancement, reassessment of sexual roles. These and related situations were operationalized in a content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, which will be described in another section of this paper.

Women's Magazines as a Generic Type

Among women's magazines today there is a continual defining and redefining of womanhood. It is no longer de rigeur to be a suburban matron presiding benevolently over home and hearth unless one is doing it "creatively". Being up-to date -- in fact, being one step ahead of up-to-date -- seems to be a prerequisite for endorsement by "The Big Three" (McCall's, Ladies Home Journal, Good Housekeeping).

Americanism is trumpeted in women's magazines. The vehicle of patriotism is usually the families of American politicians, especially wives of politicians. These women are highly visible extensions of the archetypal middle-class, middle-aged American female: they have attained their status through their husbands, but they have been required to expend enormous amounts of understanding, patience, selflessness and even professional assistance without getting credit for it. Articles about wives of famous Americans are unanimously compassionate, admiring and sympathetic.

Daughters of famous politicians also are popular with the publishers of women's magazines. They are "superstars" and therefore attract interest, especially that of younger women in the readership.

Column after column of prescriptive advice for women is dispensed monthly by women's magazines. While famous personalities still are presented for the reader's admiration and emulation, a scan of features in women's magazines, then and now, indicates that the emphasis today is less on being good at being a certain type of woman than it is on being good at being yourself. Naturalness, spontaneity, honesty are in, dominating articles on sex, friendship, occupation, fashion and beauty. Artifice and gamesmanship ostensibly are out (except in Cosmopolitan, where the thrill of the chase still is revered.)

Woman as the principal guardian of stability and tradition within the home, marriage and family, remains the watchword of McCall's, the Journal, Good Housekeeping, Redbook and Family Circle, but these periodicals have come to recognize that the responsibility is not hers alone and that she may need some help. None of the magazines condones escape or irresponsibility, but rather a program of shared responsibility within the home that frees the female to "be herself".

However, readers are not without anxieties about the changes in their lives. In her study of the Ladies Home Journal, Margaret Zube reported on reader resistance (expressed in letters to the editor) to the Journal's endorsement of jobs for wives and mothers. These readers insist that the home is still "a demanding and rewarding employer"[9] and that working outside the home isn't the cure-all for everything.

Virginia Sammon, in her analysis of Family Circle, urged us not to naively ignore the kind of interests that sustained a periodical

like The Saturday Evening Post for so many years.

There is still a market for magazines edited for the rural (though, these days not quite so rural), family-and-home-oriented, modest and practical-minded American himself.[10] she said. Better Homes and Gardens seems to answer this need. Women's magazines, in varying degrees, respond to the same market and are characterized, also in varying degrees, by this. Sammon's observation, about the Family Circle reader:

> Almost by definition, the Family Circle reader is a mother and a homemaker. She, of course, likes to think of herself as a skilled and indispensable worker, and in the same sense she looks upon Family Circle as a professional journal. It is a magazine about herself as well as for herself. And she sees the talents required for her daily chores glamorized in Family Circle's equivalent of the beauty pageant, its "Homemaker of the Year" contest, where motherhood and efficient household management are the criteria for renown. The housewife is the hero of this magazine, while to the Post reader it was always some identifiable national or international figure in politics, atheletics or popular culture.[11]

The point at which McCall's and Ladies Home Journal depart from Family Circle and other "handbook-for-homemaker" periodicals appears to be in their treatment of the scope of identity.

> Out of the 156 pages in one issue of Family Circle, only eight are devoted to fashions in hair and clothes and even fewer to the husband. Thus it appears that once a woman becomes a mother, she as a woman has little place in the family circle, and sex has almost none at all.[12]

Carol Reuss indicates that Better Homes and Gardens works on the same premises, "discounting three general appeals -- fiction, fashion and sex -- right from the beginning."[13] Better Homes and Gardens professed its purpose to be to "quietly stimulate new interest and new richness to hold together the family and the home."[14] In 1963, the editors of Better Home and Gardens wrote to their sales force, and Reuss cited this memo as evidence of that periodical's focus on family roles:

> With the exception of the food pages, there's nothing in the magazine of interest to a woman, per se. It's her function and orientation as a wife that generates the attraction. By the same token, what man is interested in what we have to say about building, gardening, handyman or outdoor cooking, except for his functional orientation as a husband and father?[15]

While McCall's and Ladies Home Journal do appeal to women as wives and mothers, sections on health, entertainment, current events and fiction try to appeal to women as sexual and intellectual beings, although the development of these elements of personality is framed largely in the context of conventional relationships: home, marriage, the family.

Margaret Bailey's 1969 study of fiction heroines in women's magazines traces their development during the 30 years preceding the study. She recalls that Betty Friedan located a 1939 study which indicated heroines in female magazines had been career women for the most part. By 1949 only one out of three were. In the postwar euphoria, she said, "the happy homemaker predominated."[16]

Ann Griffith, writing in 1949, said:

> Out of a hundred stories in women's magazines, perhaps ten would be concerned with a genuine, recognizable problem, and most stories did not involve believable people or settings.[17]

Bailey's own study considers fiction up through 1976:

> In both 1957 and 1967 the typical heroine in one of these magazine short stories was an attractive, married woman in the 26-35 age group. She lived in a house in the city, had one or two children, and although she had been to college, her main occupation was housekeeping. She was in the middle economic level and her goals were love-oriented.
>
> One change noted was in the type of problem she was most likely to have. In 1957 this would have been a romantic problem while in 1967 it was a psychological one.[18]

The observations of these researchers supports Sarah Elizabeth McBride's assertion that "pursuit-of-happiness themes and occasionally didacticism have dominated women's magazines from the very beginning.[19]

Bailey's article dealt mainly with McCall's, Ladies Home Journal, and Vogue:

> The only common denominator among them is that the subscribers are women, and while women do normally share special interests, on cognizance is taken of the fact that more women are better educated than ever before, that women like men are political animals with a point of view, that conspicuous consumption is not everyone's game, let alone everyone's potential, and that primers and picture books can be outgrown.[20]

McBride would agree:

> Women's social role underwent considerable alteration during the last century and a quarter, but the magazines reveal an underlying continuity within the social role despite obvious transformations of the American woman, spiritually-directed homebody into a community-conscious glamour girl, studiously playing the role of mother and homemaker or that of career girl.[21]

It is difficult to chart exactly how far women's magazines have come since the Ladies Home Journal of the late Forties and early Fifties, when Zube observed that "the exact geographic center of the Journal reader's world appears to have been the kitchen."[22] The centers of many women's psychological universes have certainly stretched since that time, and women's magazines have reflected that movement. But at the same time, the leading women's periodicals seem reluctant to loosen their hold on the traditional values and roles that have won them the allegiance of millions of women. A 1973 United Nations report asserts that women's magazines are finally "out of hhe kitchen"[23] but stops short of saying where they have gone from there. The question is: Have they left the house?

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

If significant shifts of philosophy are taking place in the pages

of McCall's, the literature suggests they are occurring in an atmosphere of growing pains and uncertainty about "where to go from here." Studies of women in television and print advertising,[24] television programming,[25] and fiction,[26] reveal a world in which women defer to men in achievement and decisionmaking. Zube's study of Ladies Home Journal and Sammon's analysis of Family Circle strongly suggest that ambivalence colors the "liberation" of women in their pages.

An objective content analysis and a descriptive evaluation of McCall's were undertaken to render a complete picture of the magazines content.

Content Analysis--Objective. A list of categories was devised to pin-point various types of female roles depicted by McCall's. Tabulation of the number of times a certain role occurred was expected to show the types of roles which McCall's suggested for its readers. Six issues from the beginning and the end of the ten-year period (1964-1974) were coded using the list of categories. A pre-test of categories yielded an intercoder reliability of .85, which was considered acceptable for independent author-coding.

Beginning with the January issue, every other issue of McCall's for the two sample years was coded, with the exception of holiday-oriented December issues. It was decided that coding every fifth page of half the issues produced during the sample years would yield a sufficient sample from which to generalize about the magazine. A die was tossed to determine the page of entry for each issue.

All editorial and advertising copy and art a page long of less (i.e., items that die not jump to subsequent pages) were coded using the objective categories. Longer features (fiction, articles, columns, etc.) i.e., those where personal point of view had to be considered, were analyzed descriptively. The only exceptions to this were advertisements

that bled across pages but really had to be considered together to provide enough information to be codable; and short articles that would have been less than a page in length if confined to a single sheet but which started on one page and concluded on another. These were coded using the objective categories. The one page criterion for coding purposes was not simply arbitrary. McCall's format is such that "one-pagers" represent not only a natural break in space but also a difference in the type of material used. The type of ideas found in shorter items lent themselves to objective coding, whereas longer pieces needed descriptive analysis to be properly evaluated. And while ads are not under an editors control, they are important because they are aimed at a prototypical reader "sold" to advertisers by McCall's.

A total of 396 items were coded using the objective categories. These categories appear after the footnotes.

Content Analysis -- Descriptive

The descriptive portion analyzed fiction, poetry, interviews, columns, biography. It was felt that a discussion and comparison of feature material could be handled most effectively through a descriptive essay rather than through quantitative analysis. While objective categories can plot the range of topics, they are not entirely satisfactory in describing the "color" or nuances of a full-length article.

The descriptive analysis includes items from the sample years of McCall's which typified content for those years. A composite table of contents for each year was used to isolate typical features a reader could expect o find month after month. Also analyzed were articles and fiction that develop interests which have become standard fare in McCall's. Items were discussed which, based on a thorough reading of

issues from the sample years, pointed to a recurring ideology, theme, or hierarchy of roles and expectations.

THE EVOLUTION OF "THE MAGAZINE FOR SUBURBAN WOMEN"

This year (1976) McCall's is celebrating its one hundreth anniversary as a magazine for American women. It was first published in April 1876 as The Queen, Illustrated Magazine of Fashion, advertising patterns produced by James McCall and Company. At that time an American, do-it-yourself version of European haute couture was very much in demand, The Queen was one response.

In August 1894 it offered its first piece of fiction. In September 1897 the periodical became McCall's Magazine, subtitled "The Queen of Fashion."

Today's McCall's, "The Magazine for Suburban Women", boasts a readership of more than seven and a half million monthly. McCall's pattern section has shrunk to a mere two or three pages out of an average 150 pages per issue. The advent of photographic (instead of artistic) illustration and more leisure time for women changed the looks and content of McCall's pages. It became less of a handbook for the homemaker and more of a journal for the homemaker-citizen-hobbyist.

Who are the readers to whom McCall's appeals? Below are some of the demographics of McCall's readership in 1974-75:[27]

Almost 70 percent were married; 30.4 percent were single. Nearly three-quarters owned their own homes.

46.6 percent were employed (this is slightly higher than the figure for U.S. women in the work force which is about four in ten). Only 11.4 percent were in the professional/managerial category.

63.8 percent of readers were more than 35 years old. 36.2 percent

fell in the 18-34 range, which is a sizable number of "young" readers.

Compare the data to that for 1964, the other sample year.

Almost five percent more readers (74.6 percent) were married in 1964 than in 1974-75. Only 38.2 percent were employed.

67.4 were more than 35 years old. This dropped by five percent by 1974-75. 32.6 percent of the 1964 readers fell into the 18-34 age gropp.

The 1964 readers were not as well-educated as the 1974-75 group. While the proportion of high school graduates remained about the same (41.9 and 43.2 percent, respectively) from 1964 to 1974, in 1974 more than seven percent more readers attended or graduated from college.

In 1974 McCall's surveyed its readership of working mothers to compile information on the demographics and needs of these women. More than four fifths responded that the main reason they worked was because of money. But almost half said they worked because it gave them a feeling of accomplishment. Women from upper income groups were more likely to work for fulfillment rather than money, as well as being more likely to have jobs with prestige. Husbands in the upper income brackets were more likely to approve of their wives' working.[28]

When asked what suffered most because of their working, 58.1 percent of the women replied that the quality of their housekeeping suffered. One out of every three said that work affected her disposition.

The "working women" survey added an extra dimension to what is known about McCall's current readership, and it is useful to keep this configuration of women readers in mind, as well as that of general readership for the two sample years, in moving on to a description of McCall's content.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

McCALL'S IN 1964.

The 1964 McCall's was a plush, glossy magazine, characterized by its eye-grabbing size (it measured 11" x 14" and often ran more than 200 pages) and tasteful blends of copy and art on its cover. Billed as "The First Magazine for Women" the editors in that year relied on a standard fare of home, humor and heroism to flesh out their product.

Edited by John Meck Carter (who also has edited Ladies Home Journal and now oversees good Housekeeping), McCall's departments included Fiction, Features (Perle Mesta, Amy Vanderbilt, Horace Sutton, Charles Goren, "Q and Advertising," "Stir in a Cupful of Laughter," "Sight and Sound" and numerous quest contributions); Poems, Medicine Beauty, Children, Fashions Patterns, Needlework, Decorating, Food and Equipment. The prose generally was light and chatty (especially the Mesta and Sutton pieces) and topics were presented with enthusiasm and verve. The language was insistent, conversational. The overall effect was compelling but glib.

Washington news and society strongly influenced McCall's content in 1964. Almost every issue of that year features some commentary on activity in the nation's capitol, usually involving the First Family. The Kennedy assassination stimulated a steady flow of copy, from reprints of sympathetic letters to Kennedy's widow to reflections by Mrs. John Connally to remembrances by JFK's personal secretary. Perle Mesta's January column was devoted to "The First Ladies' Jewels." The March issue featured a piece on "Our Very Busy First Ladies" and

Mrs. Mesta again surfaced with a column on the Johnson daughters, introducing readers to Lynda Bird Johnson and her fiance (with whom she later broke up) and with Luci Baines Johnson's own recipe for brownies. That year McCall's also did monthly pieces called "Twenty-four hours in the life of..." various celebrities, including such strange bedfellows as Margaret Chase Smith and Steve McQueen.

McCall's also featured regular satirical pieces by Art Buchwald; anecdotes and aphorisms in "Stir in a Cupful of Laughter;" witticisms in "I Saw it in the Paper" (similar to the Reader's Digest features); a cartoon strip pinpointing the humor of family life; and an amalgam of features which develop some aspect of a famous person's life, usually inspirational: "This Was My Father" by James Stewart, "There'll Always Be An Encore" by Judy Garland; "Billy Graham's Own Story;" "My First Hundred Years in Hollywood" by Jack Warner; "Happiness is not a Princess" about Japan's Crown Princess Michiko. Most of these affected a "just-between-you-and-me" tone, as if only the author, the subject and a single reader were involved. These articles were unanimously compassionate about a person's struggles and are admiring, almost adoring, in their treatment of that person's victories.

Decorating, food and beauty tips all share the same argot: everything was "exciting" "romantic" "deliciously different." The October 1964 issue enticed its readers with "A Romantic Medley" of patterns for evening clothes, complemented by even more patterns for "A Trio of Hauntingly Lovely Fashions." The same issue featured "Coquettish Croquettes" and "The Wordly Meatball."

The 1964 McCall's ran clip-out pages for children, "Betsy McCall" and "Captain Kangaroo's Play-Together Page." "A Child's Garden of

Misinformation" by Art Linkletter was a cluster of anecdotes and vignettes to tickle the funnybones of parents, but especially mothers.

Fiction in McCall's in 1964 was awash with sentiment. It usually involved a crisis of the heart. The root cause (and usually the remedy as well) was attachment to or reconciliation with a male.

For example, in "Nobody's Ever in Town on Sunday," (January 1964) the female protagonist is described as having been "betrayed by the man she loved. How would she live the rest of her days caged in fury?" In the last paragraph, when her estranged husband makes a date with her, the character thinks aloud:

> Lord, but it'll be good to dress for a man again. Good to be alone with a man again. Good to fix a meal for a man again. Don't spoil it now, wondering how long it will last. Just be grateful to be alive again."

The implication is that the character, who has been portrayed as brave, but sad, requires the vitality of a man to validate her life. Without it, she's not alive.

"Nobody's Ever in Town on Sunday" attempted to tackle the problems of a women seriously contemplating separation and divorce. But the same issue, "Mornings at 7:45" typifies the worst women's magazine fiction:

> "With the emblem of my love pinned firmly onto his buttondown shirt and the flag of romance attached to his attache case, this man, my husband, went forth to slay the civic dragons. His battle cry: 'Viva la kiss!'"

Their shared inspiration stems from having been reprimanded for "loitering" when kissing goodbye at the commuter train station, and her suggestion that he write a letter to the paper in protest results in his desire to run for mayor. After a rough-and-tumble try at politics, he circles back to the hearth, much to her relief, and we bid him goodbye at the train station the next morning with a kiss.

Sutton's column of breezy social chatter, Amy Vanderbilt's advice on etiquette, Perle Mesta's reports on the elite social milieu, lavish stories on famous personalities, and escapist fiction coexisted in the same pages with advice to the homemaker, the consumer ("Q and Advertising" was a sound educational feature) and the interior decorator. The icing on the cake appeared only a few pages away from the recipe for stable living.

A panoply of social reforms during the Kennedy-Johnson years sharpened the American citizen's cognizance of a bigger world and McCall's moved to match it. If tradition and past accomplishment still were revered, the magazine made room for analysis and interpretation of societal shifts as well. Youth, education, social mores, medicine and psychology were analyzed in well-reasearched, well-written pieces, prompting some readers to write in and say McCall's was becoming too gloomy:

> What has happened to you, McCall's? You're beginning to read like a social worker's casebook -- full of dreary accounts of venereal disease, illiteracy, and under-privileged-with-a capital U. Please get off the earnest, lugubrious kick, and let's have fun again. (May 1964).

This letter was followed by a message from a reader thanking McCall's for becoming a "truly adult" magazine through its use of "provocative, meaningful ideas."

The overall impression one might receive of McCall's in 1964 is that of a busy, extravagantly-illustrated magazine (almost like a Life for women), sobered somewhat by growing attentiveness to the problems of society at large and conflicts within the family and among the young. It might best be described as a magazine for a homemaker who seeks a window on the world but whose needs and interests are pragmatic, immediate and family-oriented.

McCALL'S IN 1974.

The 1974 McCall's was a smaller, more compact periodical than its predecessor of ten years before. Production and mailing costs forced McCall's to reduce the dimensions of its pages in February, 1971. The result was a tighter, more efficient-looking product: shorter pieces, more "bulletin" types of information, less splash, more business-like play of features, functional layout, simplified type style -- all contributing to a feeling of forthrightness, directness and credibility. No longer did feature pages look like engraved invitations.

While still trying to serve the homemaker, McCall's softened the housewife/hostess emphasis. The silver-lace-and-crystal reporting disappeared. Dorothy and Mary Rodgers (wife and daughter of composer Richard) now field reader's questions as a mother daughter of composer the points of view of two generations (Mary's family, ages eight through sixteen, are sometimes called upon for a third point of view). "Pats and Pans," the letters-to-the-editor slot, mercifully was renamed "McCall's Mailbox." "Right Now," the "Monthly Newsletter for Women," is an insert found near the center of each issue, and is similar to the "Gazette" section of Ms. magazine. A ten-page section of mini-articles, "Right Now" is a directory of ideas about current events, leisure and self-enrichment. It also contains a section on "Survival in the Suburbs," a concession, perhaps, to the notion that suburbia isn't the Promised Land after all.

"It's All in the Family," a cartoon along the lines of the newspaper strip "Family Circus," was dropped. "Sight and Sound" gave way to "A Movie Guide for Puzzled Parents" -- not necessarily an improvement from an adult's point of view since "Sight and Sound" had an attractive

"Playbill"-type format. Nevertheless, "A Movie Guide" is a realistic attempt to deal with the effect of explicit films on youth.

The 1974 McCall's reflected adult anxiety over permissive society and communication breakdown with youth. The July 1974 cover announced:

> Good news! A survey shows most teenagers love and respect their parents.

The Rodgers column is frequently taken up with questions from troubled parents. A psychologist had been brought aboard to answer readers' questions about themselves and their families, and a M.D. writes regularly on emotional as well as physical health news.

Consumer education was expanded in the 1974 McCall's. "Q and Asvertising" is gone, but regular features on money management and do-it-yourself (you, not your husband) repairs appeared in its place. The "Good Living" section also offers a bounty of ideas for the consumer.

McCall's fiction and poetry lagged behind the relevance of its other features in 1974. Both still clung to the insipid formula of broken hearts and adored pets and troubled children around which to build a plot. Confusion existed between fiction and nonfiction with regard to women's roles. There was also some ambivalence from fiction story to fiction story, as can be shown by excerpt from two fiction pieces which appeared in the January 1974 issue. While the second excerpts treated housewifely involvement as normal and right, the first deprecated some of the tasks that identify a housewife:

> In "Clearing Out:" "Her husband no longer wanted her, her children ho longer needed her. What could Emily salvage from her twenty years of marriage -- except herself? ... Her talents were of the lowest level -- giving dinner parties, making costumes, telephoning for causes, feeding mobs of children on short notice."

> In "The End of the Story," "Like most women, she took comfort in the safe familiarity of her family. And she had never doubted that they would live happily ever after -- until tonight.

Working women appeared in fiction more often than in 1964, as did estranged or divorced couples. Extramarital sex occured, but never within a "successful" relationship. Marriages that were crumbling were reassembled at the conclusion of the story. In sum, serious problems were taken on in fiction, but they frequently were capped by improbable solutions.

Stories on politicians and entertainers usually were angled from one of two perspectives: how the subject overcame a certain crisis, or to what extent the subject exemplified "the homely virtues." Celebrities were useful only if they provided catharsis for the readers. If a writer could convince a reader at the story's outset that she (the reader) and Barbra Streisand were going through similar identity crises, or that Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis had teenager problems just like hers, that reader probably jumped with the story every-time she was required to -- and returned the next month for more. Home, family, roots -- these, said McCall's, are the things that are important to important people.

Articles on professional women still were conspicuously, few. But information on consciousness-raising, sexual counseling, day care, employment, the single woman, childless couples, female disease and hygiene gained space and a substantial amount of play in the 1974 series.

Perhaps the most important thing the descriptive analysis showed is that the 1974 McCall's acknowledged, though somewhat inconsistently, that "the suburban woman" should not be required to be the sole or even

the main guardian of family identity and stability. By no means should her responsibility be abandoned -- but it can be shared. The mature woman should have a life of her own, McCall's said -- but which and how many of her family commitments can be sacrificed is a question McCall's has not answered clearly.

THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The quantitative analysis was confined to items of one page or less. Generally, these were ads and "bulletin"-type pieces -- brief messages, straight information without actual editorial endorsement, or sales pitches. Illustrations and photos also were coded.

The measuring instrument consisted of 32 categories (see table). Three of these -- male occupation, female occupation and product representative or source -- had subcategories. The category of "product represenative" had 50 possible combinations of race, sex and age. Role changes from 1964 to 1974 that were picked up by the content analysis categories and were significant at the .05 level or better are discussed below. Significance was determined by a chi-square test.

McCall's 1964

The percentage of all coded items falling into each category for each year appear on the coding sheet tables at the rear. In some cases the differences in data were not significant enough to merit discussion here (although in other cases the very lack of significance was in itself significant!) Discussed below are those categories that provided the most information about McCall's in 1964.

Better than 25 percent (25.8 percent) of all the items (N=233) appealed to the reader's interest in the family or parenthood. In 12.5 percent of the items children were mentioned or depicted. They were associated with a male figure in less than one percent of all the items, but were associated with a female figure 4.7 percent of the time -- five times as often as with a male. Though neither figure is very large, it does suggest that where children are depicted in the care of an adult in

the 1964 McCall's more often than not, that adult will be female.

An interesting result emerged from tabulating groupings of categories intended to map out women's roles in relation to men in terms of sex and occupation. Males simply did not apoear in these short items. While they are quite important in fiction and feature articles, as the qualitative analysis indicates, they simply do not show up on ads and news/information items. If a male role was even suggested (for example, in an ad for Woodhue cologne, the copy read ("Get fresh with someone") it was to be coded. But there was very little trace of male romantic interest or any kind of male interest in ads.

The discrepency between the "male as romantic interest" category and the "item promotes sexual attractiveness" category (4.3 percent and 21.9 percent, respectively) can be explained in this way. Most of the items falling in the second category were cosmetics or clothing ads or beauty features which strongly suggested sexual encounter: "soft lips", "brazen beauty," alluring," etc. But the "male as a romantic interest" category was not used with this other one unless there was a clear suggestion or depiction of shared romantic activity with a male. Since this did not occur very often (4.3 percent of the time), but suggestions on how women could oook desirable did, a discrepancy between too seemingly similar categories occurred.

The number of incitements to be fashionable, pleasant-looking, huggable and sweet-smelling was very high. These appeals were represented by categories 26 through 29. Better than one third of all coded items informed the reader about "attire, appearance, cosmetics, or similar possessions." "Sexual attractiveness" was urged by 21.9 percent. "Fashion information" alone accounted for 16.7 percent. "Youthful appearance as a goal" was promoted by 8.2 percent of the items.

(This last category was typified by ads for dishwashing liquid, . : makeup, and "cover-the-gray" haircolorings, which have aroused the ire of feminists almost as often as portrayal of 'woman-as-sex-object.") The fairly high incidence of appeals to ornamentation and enhancement of the face and body, in editorial features as well as advertising confers a high level of importance on such activities.

The other categories whose statistical significance compared to that of self-decoration were those that represented an appeal to the reader's interest in homemaking. Fifty-seven percent of all items appealed to this interest, with 21 percent specifically suggesting ideas for embellishment or redecoration of the home. Products, especially homemaking products, were presented with an acknowledgement that the homemaker needs to be released from drudgery as much as possible: more than one out of every five items boasted it was efficient and time-saving. Nevertheless, although the importance of free time was mentioned, better than half of the items coded limited the reader's scope of activity to the house.

A work about the "leisure" category: 21.9 percent of the items fall into this category. the most frequent types of entries in this category were cigarttte and book clubs ads and at-home entertaining, although travel and sports also were included in small amounts.

In the "occupation" categories, women were depicted as homemakers more than anything else. Men, when they appeared were most frequently depicted as professionals, followed by blue collar and clerical roles. But the percentages in each category are very small. People at work simply were not shown very often in McCall's. Men were depicted at work even less than women, but when women were depicted, they were most

often found at work on the house. With such small samples of occupational levels, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about sex bias in occupational roles. What can be said is that McCall's in 1964 dealt very little with persons in the workaday world.

Two hundred thirteen "product represenatives" or models were counted in this coding task. Forty-eight percent were white, female young adults. The next most frequently counted was the male, white child, with 16.4 percent, and the white female child, with 11.7 percent. Adult males appeared infrequently, and minority group representation was negligible. Models in cosmetics ads were, almost exclusively, white models.

Two categories of particular interest served as an index of house-boundness" -- categories 23 and 24. To determine if a women's magazine was really "out of the kitchen and into the world, these categories were written to focus on the location of the idea information contained in the coded item. Almost 60 percent of all items presented "information useful to a reader's interest at home." Only 6.9 percent of the items catered to "a reader seeking to expand interests outside the home." In some cases an item fell into both categories, i.e., advertisements for a library of Shakespearean classics, which is a mind-expanding product that must be stored, and probably will be used, at home.

On the basis of this data, the 1974 McCall's can be characterized as a catalog of ideas and illustrations about home and family, edited for a white, middle-class woman whose children play a significant part in her life and whose duties within the home demand the lion's share of her attention.

McCall's 1974

The first difference one notices in the data for the 1974 McCall's is the almost ten percent decrease in items which "appeal to the reader's interest in the family or parenthood." There also is an increase, from 0.9 percent in 1964 to 4.6 percent in 1974, of items in which both parents are shown sharing the responsibility for their children's activities and needs. These two changes can be interpreted as shifts in the role of the woman in the home as the interests diffuse in their directions. The male helps take on some of the "mothering" duties, and the children become less salient as the scope of the magazine's content has broadened.

There was an increase in the number of items addressing emotional problems, perhaps suggesting a realization on McCall's part that reader's need to be redirected in their search for contentment during times when societal approval of goals for women is in a state of upheaval.

As in 1964, the role of the male outside of fiction and features is negligible. He's practically invisible in advertisements and the shorter items that fall within the scrutiny of the objective content analysis.

There is a sharp drop in the percentage of items that appealed to the reader's interest in homemaking, from 57.1 percent in 1964 to 39.9 percent in 1974. At the same time there is an increase in items that cater to leisure interests and interests outside the home and a diminishing of incitements to embellish or beautify the home.

Chi-square tests showed no significant difference ($p < .05$) between "promotion of sexual attractiveness" from 1964 to 1974, although there was a significant fall in the number of items that appealed to the reader's interest in "fashion" or "youthful apperance as a goal."

The most frequently counted "product represenative" was once again the white female young adult. She constituted 57.8 percent of all product represenatives counted. The next most frequently counted categories of product represenatives, each representing ten percent of the total, were the white, male child and the white, male, young adult. Once again, minorities are practically invisible.

In contrast with the 1964 series, the 1974 McCall's covers a wider world for the reader, introducing her to world other than (but not instead of) kitchen, children, apparel and cosmetics. While still championing home and family, McCall's in 1974 presented its readers with new ways to enjoy traditional responsibilities. The emphasis seemed to be on the reader herself, as a person -- not simply as a wife, mother, or neighbor. The McCall's reader was being encouraged to come into her own.

CONCLUSIONS

The content analyses, both quantitative and qualitative, have borne out the reasearch hypothesis that, over ten years' time, McCall's has expanded its realm of role possibilities for women. While not endorsing the more militant ideas of women's liberation -- such as abortion-on-demand, free day care, rejection of marriage and/or the nuclear family -- it has given ample coverage to abortion as a right, quality day care for children of working parents, and reassessment of relationships and responsibilities within marriage and the family. McCall's has extrapolated from "women's lib" those ideas it feels to be "useful" to a reader of a "magazine for suburban women," (a readership which includes a growing number of young women) without betraying a loyal readership that was nurtured on more traditional fare.

As a monthly agenda of social issues, tips on life and living, and personal points of view, McCall's cannot be accused of ignoring "women's lib." While not endorsing the movement per se, McCall's has provided a substantial amount of information and instruction on how the reader can make the best of her time and herself without relinquishing traditional beliefs. McCall's, through case studies, features and atricles by psychologist- and experts, also tries to be informative and sympathetic about women who found they had to leave traditional values and roles about women behind them to regain a sense of self.

Both phases of the content analysis show that the gatekeeper has not been a sinister force fighting what has come to be identified as "women's lib." Instead, McCall's seems to have achieved an editorial profile that tries to both lead and support its constituency of readers. The 1974 McCall's seems to encourage a wider sphere of activity for readers while still guiding them to traditional roles likely to be important to women over 35, a group that constitutes 65 percent of McCall's readership.

The chief change from 1964 to 1974 seems to be that McCall's has gotten "out of the kitchen" after all. The reader of the 1974 McCall's was likely to be more mobile and independent than she was ten years earlier, and McCall's encouraged her. McCall's still provides entertainment features for readers who simply want to relax with some light reading. But it is an attractive, informative magazine for a middle-class woman with a family, who is intereeted in the views and lives of well-known individuals, and who wants to be exposed to ideals, information and creative projects appropriate to the common demominator of women like her. If McCall's can be used as a yardstick of such interests, and I think it can, the changes in the magazine over ten

years indicate that the gatekeeper's perception of the common demominator of readers has moved somewhat -- "out of the kitchen" and into a world that centers more around the reader than anyone else.

FOOTNOTES

[1]McCombs, Maxwell and Donald Shaw, Association for Education in Journalism, report presented August 1974, p. 23.

[2]Ibid., p. 41.

[3]Ibid., p. 46.

[4]Zube, Margaret, "Changing Concepts of Morality: 1948-1969," Social Forces, March 1972, p. 385.

[5]Budd, et al., Content Analysis of Communications, p. 8.

[6]Morris, Monica, "Newspapers and the New Feminists: Blackout as Social Control?" Journalism Quarterly, Spring, 1973, p. 37.

[7]Ibid., p. 41.

[8]Zube, Margaret, "Value Orientations, Behavioral and Techno-economic Shifts and Their Relationship to Changing Roles for Women," M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts, May 1970; Wilson, Sally B., "How Magazines Reflect Social Movements: Women's Movement Reflected in Thirty Magazines," M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1972.

[9]Zube, op. cit., p. 78.

[10]Sammon, Virginia, "Surviving the Saturday Evening Post," The Antioch Review, Spring 1969, p. 101.

[11]Ibid.,pp. 103-104.

[12]Sammon, p. 104.

[13]Reuss, Carol, "Better Homes and Gardens and Its Editors: An Historical Study from the Magazine's Founding to 1970," University of Iowa, 1971, p. 41.

[14]Ibid., p. 106.

[15]Ibid., p. 139

[16]Bailey, Margaret, "The Women's Short-Story Heroine in 1957 and 1967," Journalism Quarterly, Summer 1969, p. 364.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 365.

[19]McBride, p. 346.

[20]Magid, Nora, "The Heart, The Mind, The Pickled Okra," North American Review, Summer 1969, p. 364.

[21]McBride, Sarah Elizabeth, "Women in the Popular Magazines for Women in America: 1830-1956, unpublished dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1966, p. 301.

[22]Zube, Social Forces, March 1972, P. 389.

[23]Doyle, Nancy, "Women's Changing Place: A Look at Sexism," published by the Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 509, June 1974, p. 15.

[24]Courtney, Alice and Thomas Whipple, "Woman in TV Commercials," Journal of Communication, Spring 1974; Courtney, Alice and Sarah Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research, February 1971; Leonard, Mary, "Art Thou Sexist, Fair Adman?" The National Observer, November 9, 1974.

[25]Turow, Joseph, "Advising and Ordering: Daytime, Prime Time," Journal of Communication, Spring 1974; Downing, Mildred, "Heroine of the Daytime Serial," Journal of Communication, Spring 1974.

[26]Franzwa, Helen, "Working Women in Fact and Fiction," Journal of Communication, Spring 1974, p. 105.

[27]Data compiled by the W.R. Simmons Co., New York, New York. Released January 2, 1975.

[28]"Women Who Work: A Special Report," compiled by Datatab, Inc., for McCall's. Published in McCall's February 1974 issue.

[29]W. R. Simmons survey of McCall's readership. January 2, 1975.

1964 Series

DATE OF ISSUE_____ (Cols. 1-3) PAGE NUMBER _____(Cols. 4-5)

ITEM DESCRIPTION _____

		% of Coded Items
1)	Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in the family or interest in parenthood? (mentions family, children; or theme is family life.)	25.8 (Col. 7)
2)	Are parents depicted or discussed as sharing responsibility for their children and their family life? (guiding children in activity, sharing their play, being responsible for family problems)	.9 (Col. 8)
3)	If children are mentioned or pictured, are they associated primarily with their mother of a female figure?	4.7 (Col. 9)
4)	If children are mentioned or pictured, are they associated primarily with their father or male figure?	.9 (Col. 10)
5)	Children depicted alone or with other children?	6.9 (Col. 11)
6)	Does item concer fzmily or pediatric health? (including safety for children)	3.4 (Col. 12)
7)	Does item concern adult health and disease? (items of a cosmetic nature, i.e., deodorants, skin cream for beauty, etc.)	7.3 (Col. 13)
8)	Does item address emoticnal problems? (sexual problems, unhappiness, alcoholism, etc.)	.9 (Col. 14)
9)	If the male appears in or is suggested by the item, is he depicted as a "romantic interest" for the female (date, escort, pursuer; giving gemale luxury item; or otherwise suggesting importance of female attractiveness to male)?	4.3 (Col. 15)
10)	Is a male depicted or suggested as the female's "provider," (taking care of female or giving her an essential item, etc.)?	.4 (Col. 16)
11)	Is a male depicted as a partner or colleague of a female (where both would appear to be equal in shared activity)?	2.6 (Col. 17)
12)	Soes the item depict a female assisting a male? (where the male appears to be coordinating or leading the activity)	.4 (Col. 18)

	% of Coded Items
13) Would you say the female depicted is directing the male in his activity?	.9 (Col. 19)
14) Is the female depicted on the job alone?	0 (Col. 20)

15) If male is shown in occupation, how would you describe his line of work? (Col. 21)

Professional	2.6	Row 1
Clerical	.4	Row 2
Blue Collar	.9	Row 3
Homemaker	0	Row 4
Other (specify)	0	Row 5
Unable to determine	0	Row 6
Does not apply	96.1	Row 7

16) If female is shown in occupation, how would you describe her line of work? (Col. 22)

Professional	.9	Row 1
Clerical	0	Row 2
Blue Collar	0	Row 3
Homemaker	5.6	Row 4
Other (specify)	0	Row 5
Unable to determine	0	Row 6
Does not apply	93.5	Row 7

17) Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in homemaking (consumerism, household improvement, food, pets, furniture, etc.)	57.1 (Col. 23)
18) Does item appeal to reader's concern with efficiency (sames time and labor; promotes effectiveness)?	22.7 (Col. 24)
19) Does the item claim to facilitate economy (saves money, lends itself to thrift)?	16.3 (Col. 25)
20) Does the item promote information or product because of its ease (simple to use or to care for, attractive because of lack of complexity)?	12.4 (Col. 26)
21) Does item encourage reader to embellish or beautify home?	21.0 (Col. 27)
22) Does the item promote innovativeness and creativity?	31.3 (Col. 28)
23) Does the item present information useful to a reader's interest at home?	58.8 (Col. 29)
24) Does the item present information useful to a reader seeking to expand interest outside of the home?	6.9 (Col. 30)

		% of Coded Items	
25)	Does the item inform the reader about leisure interests (hobbies, entertainment, dining, travel, vacations, sport)?	21.9	(Col. 31)
26)	Does the item inform the reader about attire, appearance, cosmetics, or similar personal possessions?	37.3	(Col. 32)
27)	Does item promote sexual attractiveness?	21.9	(Col. 33)
28)	Does item promote youthful appearance as a goal?	8.2	(Col. 34)
29)	Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in fashion?	16.7	(Col. 35)
30)	Does item appeal to any miscellaneous interests not described above? _____	2.6	(Col. 36)
31)	Race, age, and sex of product represenative (50 possible combinations were assigned a two-digit code space on IBM card was left for percentages of most frequently counted product represenatives).	_____	(Cols. 37-45)

1974 Series

DATE OF ISSUE_____ (C ls.]-3) PAGE NUMBER _____ (Cols. 4-5)

ITEM DESCRIPTION _____

	% of Coded Items	
1) Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in the family or interest in parenthood? (mentions family, children; or theme is family life)	16.2	(Col. 7)
2) Are parents depicted or discussed as sharing responsibility for their children and their family life? (guiding children in activity, sharing their play, being responsible for family problems)	4.6	(Col. 8)
3) If children are mentioned or pictured, are they associated primarily with their mother or a female figure?	3.5	(Col. 9)
4) If children are mentioned or pictured, are they associated primarily with their father or a male figure?	0	(Col. 10)
5) Children depicted alone or with other children?	11.7	(Col. 11)
6) Does item concern family or pediatric health? (including safety for children)	2.3	(Col. 12)
7) Does item concern adult health and disease? (not items of a cosmetic natrre, i.e., deodorants, skin creams for beauty, etc.)	5.8	(Col. 13)
8) Does item address emotional problems? (sexual problems, unhappiness, alcoholism, etc.)	5.2	(Col. 14)
9) If the male appears in or is suggested by the item, is he depicted as a "romantic interest" for the female (date, escort, pursuer; giving female luxury item; otherwise suggesting importance of female attractiveness to male)?	4.0	(Col. 15)
10) Is a male depicted or suggested as the female's "provider," (taking care of female or giving her an essential item, etc.)?	.6	(Col. 16)
11) Is the male depicted as a partner of colleague of a female (where both would appear to be equal in shared activity)?	4.6	(Col. 17)

	% of Coded Items
12) Does the item depict a female assisting a male? (where the male allears to be coordinating or leading the activity)?	0 (Col. 18)
13) Would you say the female depicted is directing t the male in his activity?	1.2 (Col. 19)
14) Is the female depicted on the job alone?	1.2 (Col. 20)

15) If male is shown in occupation, how would you describe his line of work? (Col. 21)

Professional	.6	Row 1
Clerical	0	Row 2
Blue Collar	0	Row 3
Homemaker	0	Row 4
Other (specify)	0	Row 5
Unable to determine	0	Row 6
Does not apply		Row 7

16) If female is shown in occupation, how would you descrive her line of work? (Col. 22)

Professional	1.7	Row 1
Clerical	0	Row 2
Blue Collar	0	Row 3
Homemaker	1.2	Row 4
Other (specify)	0	Row 5
Unable to determine		Row 6
Does not apply	97.1	Row 7

17) Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in homemaking (consumerism, household improvement, food, pets, furniture. etc.)?	39.9 (Col. 23)
18) Does item appeal to reader's concern with efficiency (saves time and labor; promotes effectiveness)?	8.7 (Col. 24)
19) Does the item claim to faciliate economy (saves money, lends itself to thrift)?	13.3 (Col. 25)
20) Does the item promote information or product because of its ease (simple to use or to care for, attractive because of lack of complexity)?	10.4 (Col. 26)
21) Does item encourage reader to embellish or beautify the home?	13.3 (Col. 27)
22) Does the item promote innovativeness and creativity?	(Col. 28)

		% of Coded Items
23)	Doe's the item present information useful to a reader's interest at home?	49.7 (Col. 29)
24)	Does the item present information useful to a reader seeking to expand interests outside the home?	15.0 (Col. 30)
25)	Does the item present information about leisure interests (hobbies, entertainment, dining, travel, vacations, sport)?	34.1 (Col. 31)
26)	Does the item inform the reader about attire, appearance, cosmetics, or similar personal possessions?	30.1 (Col. 32)
27)	Does item promote sexual attractiveness?	16.8 (Col. 33)
28)	Does item promote youthful appearance as a goal?	4.6 (Col. 34)
29)	Does the item appeal to the reader's interest in fashion?	9.8 (Col. 35)
30)	Does item appeal to any micellaneous interests not described above? _____	0 (Col. 36)
31)	Race, age and sex of product represenative (50 possible combinations were assigned a two-digit code; space on IBM card was left for a maximum of six of six product represenatives per item. See text for percentages of most frequently counted product represenatives).	_____ (Col.s 37-45)

Differences between 1964 and 1974 Content Categories

Catetory	X^2	d.f.	$p \leq$
Appeals to family, parenthood	5.04	1	.025
Parents depicted sharing responsibility for children	6.86	1	.01
Item addresses emotional problem	5.97	1	.025
Item appeals to interest in homemaking	12.02	1	.001
Item encourages embellishment of home	5.08	1	.025
Item appeals to readers interest outside home	7.64	1	.01
Item appeals to leisure interests	7.36	1	.01
Item promotes youthful interest as goal	4.18	1	.05
Item appeals to interest in fashion	4.14	1	.05